

LETTERS OF MARCUS ANTONIUS KAPPUS FROM COLONIAL AMERICA
VI.

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I.

This is the sixth - and also the last - in the present series of letters which Marcus Antonius Kappus (1657 - 1717, since 1687 Jesuitic missionary in the colonial Sonora) had sent to his relatives and acquaintances in Slovenia that have been preserved to the present day.¹ Of the five letters which we have published so far, two were written in Latin and three in German; four of these letters we have published from manuscripts preserved in Ljubljana archives, and one (letter IV) from *Der neue Welt-Bott* - a well known German compilation of letters sent by Jesuitic missionaries from various parts of the world - which in the period from 1726 till 1761 appeared periodically in press in Augsburg, Graz, and Vienna.

None of the four letters reprinted from manuscripts had been published before, nor had they appeared in an English translation. This is also true of the text from *Der neue Welt-Bott* (Part II, year 1728) which we have - as letter IV - for the first time made available in a modern edition together with an English translation. Even if not reedited, however, this text had been bibliographically well enough known owing to the wide circulation of the original collection: since the early XIX. century references to it can be found in a number of texts published in Slovenia² and in the leading bibliographies of the Jesuitic Order that were published in Europe³ and in America.⁴

1 Cf.: Janez Stanonik: Letters of Marcus Antonius Kappus from Colonial America, Part I, *Acta Neophilologica* XIX (1986), 35-56; Part II, *AN XX* (1987), 25-38; Part III, *AN XXI* (1988), 3-9; Part IV, *AN XXII* (1989), 39-50; Part V, *AN XXIII* (1990), 27-37. See also Janez Stanonik: Marcus Antonius Kappus: The First Slovenia-Born Poet in America, *AN XXVIII* (1995), 59-68.

2 A history of the bibliographical references to Kappus' letter in publications from Slovenia is given in my introduction to the letter IV: cf. *AN XXII* (1989), p. 40 ff. There have been also several modern Slovene translations of this letter, the first in 1864 in the Catholic review *Zgodnja Danica*; - Another Slovene translation was published by Erik Kovačič in the American Slovene *Ave Marija koledar for 1970* (edited by the Franciscan Order in Lemont, Ill.); - and, finally, in the anthology of Slovene literature from North America, collected in 1982 by Jerneja Petrič (Jerneja Petrič: *Naši na tujih tleh*, Ljubljana, Slovenska izseljenska matica, 1982, p. 411-412).

3 The earliest such bibliography is the work *Scriptores Provinciae Austriacae Societatis Jesu*, Vienna, Typis congregationis Mechitaristicae, Tomus Primus, 1855, see p. 168; - Cf. also Augustin and Aloys de Backer and Carlos Sommervogel: *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus*, Bruxelles/Paris 1893, vol. IV, p. 916; - and Anton Huonder: *Deutsche Jesuitenmissionäre des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts*, Freiburg in Breisgau, Herder'sche Verlagshandlung 1899, p. 410.

4 Francisco Zambrano & (desde el tomo XV) José Gutiérrez Casillas: *Diccionario bio-bibliográfico de la compañía de Jesús en México*, published by Instituto de investigaciones históricas de la

This letter of Kappus was also well known to Herbert Eugene Bolton even if he in his works never explicitly quotes from it: in his monumental biography of Kino, *Rim of Christendom*, he repeatedly referred to letters by various Jesuitic missionaries in America which occur in the same German collection.⁵

Quite different, however, is the history of the Kappus letter which we reedit - also for the first time - in its Latin original text and English translation in our present - the sixth - continuation of his letters. This Kappus letter appeared first in press in 1707 in Frankfurt and Leipzig in the Latin periodical *Nova litteraria Germaniae aliorumque Europae regnorum anni MDCCVII collecta*. With this his letter Kappus transmitted as the first the news to Germany of Kino's discovery that California was not an island, as it had been till then generally believed, but rather a peninsula, and thus a part of the American continent. In spite of its importance this letter seems to have for a long time escaped the evidence of scholars. It can neither be found referred to in the standard bibliographies of Jesuitic publications (Austrian bibliography from 1855, de Backer-Sommervogel, Huonder, Zambrano-Casillas), nor in any relevant publications from Slovenia. Most conspicuous is the silence about it in the recent bibliography by Primož Simoniti of Latin writings by Slovene authors:⁶ in it a Latin letter by Kappus could with considerable certainty be expected to be referred to, had there been an earlier reference to it in a corresponding Slovene or German publication.

Thus the rediscovery of the Kappus letter here discussed may be attributed to Herbert Eugene Bolton. Unfortunately Bolton himself does not inform us how he came to learn about this letter. It is difficult to judge whether Bolton knew it already in 1919 when he published his English translation of Kino's biography *Favores celestiales*: in any case in his preface to this edition Bolton already mentions Kino's map *Passo por tierra*.⁷ In 1936, however, Bolton's knowledge of this letter can be found fully documented in his great biography of Kino.⁸

With his work Bolton has greatly advanced the possibilities of research into a decisive period of the history of the American Southwest. Slovene historiography, which until recently was in its investigations of the early history of Slovene emigration to America limited to domestic (or in the best case European) sources only - and these possibilities were very humble indeed - could find in Bolton's achievement an important impulse for its own work. Bolton himself supplied fresh information concerning Kappus, a close co-worker and friend of Kino, and a crucial figure in the early cultural history of Slovene emigration in America. Among Slovenes, these new research possibilities opened by Bolton were first sensed by Slovenes living in America. During the winter 1962/63 Stanley Žele, a Slovene journalist from Chicago, published serially in the Chicago Slovene daily *Prosveta* an extensive study on Slovenes in Colonial America (including Kappus), for which he used as his source also several books by Bolton (*Prosveta*, 12. April 1963).⁹ During the seventies and

Universidad Iberoamericana, cf. vol. XV (Siglo XVIII, A-K), Mèxico 1977, p. 810, 811.

⁵ Herbert Eugene Bolton: *Rim of Christendom*, New York, The MacMillan Comp. 1936, cf. pp. 51, 65, 72, 222, 239, 249, 362, and esp. 609-610.

⁶ Primož Simoniti: *Sloveniae scriptores Latini recentioris aetatis*, Zagreb - Ljubljana MCMLXXI. Editio Academiae Scientiarum et artium Sloveniae at Instituti historici Academiae Scientiarum et artium Slavorum meridionalium.

⁷ Herbert Eugene Bolton: *Kino's Historical Memoir of Pimeria Alta*, Cleveland, The Arthur H. Clark Comp., 1919, 2 vols., Cf. vol. I, p. 80.

⁸ Herbert Eugene Bolton: *Rim of Christendom*, New York, The MacMillan Comp., 1936, pp. 464, 609.

eighties Erik Kovačič, from Washington, D.C., collected material for his own research in Kappus. He succeeded in obtaining from Vienna photocopies of Kappus' letter as it was published in *Nova litteraria Germaniae*. He contributed these photocopies, together with the Slovene translation of their text, to the American Slovene calendar *Ave Marija koledar 1981*.¹⁰ The early death of Kovačič prevented the full completion of his Kappus researches.¹¹ Although he never quoted Bolton, he was well informed of Bolton's work.

From the present study can be seen that I, too, have been in my research of Kappus greatly helped by the work of Bolton to which I had access in the Bancroft Library of the Berkeley University during the winter months of 1984/85, aided by a Fulbright Scholarship.

2.

The historical background of Kappus' letter published in our present study was already carefully researched by Bolton. In our present introduction we shall endeavour, after a brief survey of essential facts collected from Bolton, to add some specific data available in Slovenia which could throw more light on the text, and some general information which may also prove useful.

Eusebius Franciscus Kino (1645-1711), originally from South Tyrol, came to Mexico in 1681. The following year he joined the expedition led by Admiral Don Isidro de Atondo y Antillon to Baja California, which finally failed owing to the lack of financial means. After his return to Ciudad Mexico Kino was in 1686 assigned for the missionary work in Sonora where he worked since the spring 1687 at the Mission Nuestra Señora de los Dolores in northern Sonora. Here he was at the extreme northern end of Spanish colonial possessions. From his mission he began to systematically explore in numerous expeditions the region up to the Gila River,¹² a region then practically unknown to Spaniards. From central Sonora he also made repeated expeditions to the Gulf of California which in that time was believed to be an enormous sea passage of the Pacific Ocean separating Sonora from Baja California, at that time thought to be an island.¹³ Baja California, as a largely sterile region, was unable to produce sufficient food for its inhabitants, and the few missionaries who worked there were repeatedly threatened with starvation, among them Juan Maria de Salvatierra in Loreto who came to Baja California in 1697.¹⁴ From Loreto Salvatierra

⁹ Žele, however, does not seem to have known Bolton's book *Rim of Christendom*, nor was he aware of Kappus' letter in *Nova litteraria Germaniae*.

¹⁰ Erik Kovačič: Slovenski misijonar Kapus in zemljepisna odkritja v Ameriki (The Slovene Missionary Kapus and the Geographic Discoveries in America, *Ave Marija koledar 1981*, vol. LXIX, p. 63-69.

¹¹ Erik Kovačič, born in 1921 in Ljubljana, emigrated in 1945 from Yugoslavia. He came in 1949 to the United States where he studied librarianship. From 1955 till his death in 1990 he worked in the catalogue department of the Library of Congress. He died of heart failure.

¹² A survey of the most important expeditions of Father Kino can be found in my introduction to Letter I, cf. *AN XIX* (1986), p. 45 ff, where references can also be found to the corresponding passages in Bolton's edition of *Favores celestiales* and in *Rim of Christendom*.

¹³ A recent work on the complex history of the exploration of the insular/peninsular character of Baja California is by Dora Beale Polk: *The Island of California, A History of the Myth*, Lincoln and London, University of Nebraska Press, 1996.

¹⁴ Juan Maria de Salvatierra was born in 1648 in Milan. His mother Barba Visconti was related to the ruling house of Milan. In 1668 he entered the novitiate at Chiesa. Salvatierra came to Mexico in 1675

established close contacts with Kappus who was since 1697 missionary in Matape in southern Sonora. The good friendly relations between Kappus and Salvatierra can at least partly be also attributed to the fact that both were in their lives connected with the town of Milan and spoke Italian (Salvatierra was a born Milanese and spent his youth there; Kappus studied in Milan theology the last two years before his departure for America). We must also remember that Kino, too, came from Segno in south Tyrol, from the German-Italian linguistic border (Kino, however, attended school first in Trento, and later in Hall in Tyrol and in Ingolstadt in Germany. Kino never seems to have lived for a longer period in Milan.) Kino, always ready to support the missions in Baja California, tried to organise the supply of California with food by sending cattle from northern Sonora by way of Matape to the port of Guaymas from where it could be transported in a launch across the Gulf into the harbour of Loreto.

Kino with his explorations of northern Sonora grew more and more conscious of the possibility that the sea separating Baja California from Sonora could be in reality an enormous gulf which somewhere in the north ends in a land that connects Sonora with California. He believed that its discovery would be very important for Baja California because along it the cattle could be driven from Sonora to the missions in California without exposing it to the hazardous passage across the waters of the Gulf.

In February 1699 the Indians inhabiting the shores of the lower course of Gila River gave Kino as a present beautiful blue shell. Kino recalled that he had seen the same kind of sea shells only along the Pacific coast of Baja California. He saw in them a possible proof that there was a land connection between the Gila River valley and the Pacific Coast. Also Kappus and Salvatierra, when informed about the blue shells, shared Kino's conviction. Yet in spite of his endeavours, Kino could not get from Indians a clear answer regarding the possible access by land to the Pacific Ocean.

Decisive for the discovery of the upper end of the Gulf of California was the expedition Kino made in spring 1701 together with Salvatierra and with Juan Matheo Manje, the commander of the military police of Sonora and a frequent companion of Kino on his expeditions. In January 1701 Salvatierra came from Loreto to Matape to visit Kappus. Kappus showed him the blue shells Kino had sent him as a gift. They impressed Salvatierra greatly. He went from Matape to Dolores where preparations were made for an expedition to the coast of the Gulf. The expedition started on 9. March from Caborca. After Sonoita they entered a most desolate region, without water, covered with rocks and overgrown with cactuses. Finally they reached the sandy wastes, the Medanos de Arena, which surround the north-eastern shore of the Gulf. They came to the Gulf at a place they called Tres Ojitos. From here they could see across the Gulf the mountains of Baja California. From the general direction of these mountains and of the shore they became convinced that they saw the upper end of the Gulf. When they began their return journey they climbed a mountain they called Cerro de Santa Clara from which they could see almost the whole upper end of the

where he first studied theology at Puebla. In Mexico he had a richly varied career as a missionary, rector of colleges (1693 Guadalajara, 1696 Tepetzotlan), and as a high functionary of the Jesuitic Order (1686 Padre Visitador for Sinaloa and Sonora, 1704-1706 Padre Provincial). As missionary he worked first (since 1680) in Sinaloa among the Tarahumara Indians. In 1697 he came to Baja California where he founded the mission of Loreto. After completing his duty as Padre Provincial he returned again to Baja California. He died in 1717 in Guadalajara. For the biography of Salvatierra cf.: Miguel Venegas: *Juan Maria de Salvatierra, S.J., Missionary in the Province of New Spain, and apostolic conqueror of the Californias*. Translated into English, edited and annotated by Marguerite Eyer Wilbur. The Arthur H. Clark Comp., Cleveland 1919.

Gulf. At the ranchería San Marcelo they separated: Kino returned by way of San Xavier del Bac to Dolores, Salvatierra, on the other hand, went south, made a stop at Matape where he told Kappus enthusiastically about the land passage to California, and finally reached Loreto in Baja California by way of the port of Guaymas.¹⁵

After his return to Dolores Kino made his famous map of Sonora and the Gulf of California. In the upper left corner of the map he inserted into a quadrangular frame the inscription: "Passo por Tierra a la California y sus confinantes Nuevas Naciones y Nuevas Misiones de la Compa de Jesus en America Septentrional," "Passage by Land to California and the Neighbouring New Nations and New Missions of the Company of Jesus in Northern America." Under the frame Kino added the year 1701. On the back of this map Kino wrote: "Reverendo P. Marco Antonio Kappus, S.I., Collegii Metapensis Rectori Harum Novarum Regionum & Missionum Fautori & Benefactori se enixè commendat Eusebius Franciscus Kinus, S.I.", "To the Reverend Marcus Antonius Kappus, S.I., Rector of the College of Matape, Patron and Benefactor of these New Regions and Missions recommends himself warmly Eusebius Franciscus Kinus, S.I.". After completing his map he sent it to Kappus in Matape who in turn mailed it with a letter dated Matape 8. June 1701 to his friend Philippus Alberth in Vienna. Philippus Alberth forwarded Kappus' letter together with Kino's map to the editors of the review *Nova litteraria Germaniae aliorunq[ue] Europae regnorum anni MDCCVII collecta* who published both in their March issue of 1707.

In fact however, with Kino's discovery of the upper end of the Gulf of California the problem of the transportation of food by land from Sonora to the missions in Baja California was not solved. The enormous distances over the impassable terrain of the northern part of Baja California - at that time still completely unknown to Spaniards - made any exploration from the Rio Colorado down the peninsula unthinkable. It took the whole XVIIIth century before the Spaniards could claim at least partial knowledge of this area. These explorations were made from the central Baja California towards the Rio Colorado. In 1746 Ferdinand Consag, a missionary at San Ignacio (north of Loreto) sailed with boats along the eastern shore of Baja California up to the Rio Colorado, yet he could find no place in this whole region where the Spaniards or the church could found a new establishment from which they could get this area under their control. During this expedition which confirmed Kino's discovery of the *Passo por Tierra*, Consag made another famous map of the Gulf, first published in 1757 in the work by Miguel Venegas and André Marcos Burriel: *Noticia de la California, y de su Conquista temporal y espiritual hasta el tiempo presente*.¹⁶ In 1766 the Czech

¹⁵ About Kino's expedition from spring 1701 see my introduction to Letter I, cf. *AN XIX* (1986), pp. 47 ff. - Herbert Eugene Bolton: *Kino's Historical Memoir of Pimeria Alta*, op. cit. 265-289; Herbert Eugene Bolton: *Rim of Christendom*, op. cit. 445-462, and especially 609; Ernest J. Burrus, S.J.: *Kino and Manje, Explorers of Sonora and Arizona, Their vision of the Future. A Study of Their Expeditions and Plans*. Jesuit Historical Institute, St. Louis, Rome, 1971, p. 118-121 and 468-514. Burrus publishes also Salvatierra's report on this journey, ib.p. 585-618.

¹⁶ Ferdinand Consag was born in 1703 in Varaždin, Croatia. He attended schools at Varaždin, at Trenčín in Slovakia, in Vienna, and in Graz. In 1719 he joined the Jesuit Order and came to Mexico in 1731. Most of the time from 1733 till his death in 1759 he worked at the mission of San Ignacio, north of Loreto.

His family background is unexplored. His father was an Austrian army officer and so the family was not necessarily from Varaždin. Before Ferdinand's departure for America, his family name can be found written in the following variants: Kenschak, Kenschack, Consack (cf. Anton Huonder, op. cit. 111-112). The spelling Kenschak is obviously German and must be read in modern Slovene/Croatian as Konšak (i.e. Konshak). The family name Konšak or Konšek is even now widely known in north-eastern Slovenia and probably originates in the northern part of central Slovenia, round the places of Trojane,

Wenceslaus Linck, from San Borja, the last northernmost Jesuitic mission in Baja California, tried from his place to reach on land the Rio Colorado, but was forced to turn back at La Cieneguilla, before he could complete his plan. When in 1769 the Franciscan Father Junipero Serra made finally the breakthrough from the central Baja California, he was, however, no longer interested in Kino's *Passo por Tierra*, but instead he turned left after La Cieneguilla towards the Pacific coast and proceeded into Alta California, founding the mission at San Diego and several missions in the area of Monterey.

3.

The text of Kappus' contribution in the March issue of the review *Nova litteraria Germaniae aliorumque Europae regnorum anni MDCCVII collecta* is comparatively short: it consists of two paragraphs and an additional note. In the introductory paragraph, written by the editors of the review, the reader is informed that the review reprints the letter by Kappus, sent to Austria from Matape in North America together with the map made by Kino. The letter was forwarded to the editors by Philippus Alberth, S.J., the prefect of the library of St. Anna in Vienna. The editors call attention to the fact that the review had published also other maps, especially the map by Father Hennepin. - The second - longer - paragraph reproduces the letter by Kappus with which Kappus expressed his hope that the letter would safely reach the addressee. Kappus tells in his letter how in Matape he was visited by Father Juan Maria de Salvatierra, from Baja California. Kappus greatly impressed Salvatierra with the suggestion that Baja California was not an island as it was generally believed at that time, but rather a peninsula. From Matape Salvatierra went to Dolores, the mission of Kino, and together with Kino made the expedition which proved the truth of Kappus' view. For the better understanding Kappus added to his letter the map made by Kino which showed Baja California as a peninsula. - In the concluding note the editors reprinted the text of Kino's dedication of this map to Kappus.

4.

From his expedition with Salvatierra Kino returned to his own mission Dolores on April 15, 1701.¹⁷ During the month of April he made his map of the *Passo por Tierra* which, in fact, showed the results of all his expeditions since 1696. He sent the map with his dedication to Kappus with whom he kept in contact through the exchange of messages ever since Kappus was assigned around the year 1696¹⁸ from Cucurpe to his new position at the mission of Matape in Central Sonora. As we can see, these contacts of Kino with Kappus were quite efficient: Kappus forwarded Kino's map together with his own letter to his addressee in Austria already on 8. June 1701.

Ljubno and Rečica, where farmers with this family name can be found. The family name Konšek is also otherwise known in Slovene cultural history, cf. Valentin Konšek, a journalist and politician of the XIXth century, see *Slovenski biografski leksikon* I, 494-496. Croatian literary historians interpret Consag's name as Konščák (i.e. Konshchak), a form which could make his name sound Croat, but they have offered no convincing evidence for their suggestion.

¹⁷ Herbert Eugene Bolton, *Rim of Christendom*, op. cit., p. 462.

¹⁸ Ernest J. Burrus, S.J., *Kino and Manje, Explorers of Sonora and Arizona, Their Vision of the Future*. Rome and St. Louis, 1971, p. 357.

At Matape (now called Pesqueira) Kappus worked from about 1696 till 1704 as Rector of the College. The word College must here not be understood as an institute of higher learning (as it seems to have been misunderstood also by the editors of the review *Nova litteraria Germaniae*). In Jesuitic missions of that time the word college has a specific significance, designating a boarding school to which the sons of regional leaders were sent to learn there the basics of the catechism, reading, writing, Spanish, mathematics, and music. They were also taught some Latin for liturgical purposes. These colleges were formally *Collegios inchoatos*, or Incipient colleges, in fact a kind of a legal fiction which gave them certain rights normally allowed under the Spanish law.¹⁹ Matape was at that time not the only college of this kind in Sonora: there was another one also at Oposura in eastern Sonora.

Kappus wrote his letter to Europe in a critical moment of Spanish history, when the crown of Spain passed over from the House of Habsburg into the hands of the Bourbon dynasty. When Charles II, the last Habsburg on the Spanish throne, died childless in November 1700, he was succeeded, in agreement with his own decision which was accepted also by the Spanish nobility, by Philipp d'Anjou, the grandson of Louis XIV (in Spanish history Philipp V, king of Spain 1701-1746). Kappus' letter was written in the beginning of summer 1701, when the news of these developments in Spain had already reached Sonora. Kappus' reaction to them was at least initially favourable because he saw in this change a possible improvement for the security of ships crossing the Atlantic. We can see, however, from his letter that among his acquaintances in Mexico there were persons who expected that the Habsburgs, led by the emperor Leopold I., would not be willing to accept these changes and that these developments would finally lead into a war. We must not be surprised that such views were also shared by the Jesuits in Mexico who were systematically recruited for their work in the Spanish controlled America from those parts of Europe only which were ruled by the Habsburgs. It is possible that Kappus, too, who was obviously told such views in confidence, was himself not uninclined to them. The hostilities with which the War for Spanish Succession began, were opened in September 1701. In this war Spain and France were allied against the Habsburg Austria and its German allies (with the exception of Bavaria which was in league with France). The Habsburgs were supported also by Great Britain and Holland. The news of the outbreak of hostilities could have reached Sonora not before spring 1702. In Spain the pro-Habsburg party was finally defeated in the battle at Almanza (25. April 1707). It was after this final defeat of the Habsburg allies in Spain that the celebrations were organised in 1708 in Ciudad Mexico to celebrate Philipp V. as the new king of Spain.

This was a delay of seven years. Kappus wrote for this occasion a solemn poem *Enthusiasmus sive Solemnes Ludi Poetici* and published it in a booklet in which also other Jesuits in Mexico expressed their congratulations and loyalty to the new ruler. It is possible that such developments contributed to the circumstances under which the Jesuits were expelled from Mexico during the second half of the XVIII th century.

Quite likely the outbreak of the War for Spanish Succession led to a differentiation in political sympathies which did not necessarily fully come out into the open. Nevertheless they were not unimportant. Kino seems to have been more willing than the others to accept early the new situation. With regard to Kino it was

¹⁹ I thank here Professor Charles W. Polzer, S.J., from the University of Arizona at Tucson, who has kindly helped me with this information on a problem regarding which there exists considerable uncertainty in the relative historical literature.

perhaps of some consequence that he had studied at the University of Ingolstadt in Bavaria and he also joined the Jesuit Order in Bavaria and worked there as a Jesuit until he left for America. Bavaria was, as we have already stated, in this conflict an ally of France and at war with Austria.²⁰

5.

Kappus' letter was transmitted to the editors of the review *Nova Litteraria Germaniae* by Philippus Alberth, member of the Society of Jesus. The few data available about him²¹ throw light on his contacts with Kappus. He was born in Vienna on 17. January 1636 and was therefore 21 years senior to Kappus. In 1657 he joined the Jesuit Order and worked in 1668 as spiritual coadjutor. Apparently he lived over a longer period of years in Slovenia. In 1678 and 1679 he taught at the Jesuit College in Ljubljana. In 1679 worked at the same College also Marcus Antonius Kappus. In this way the two could establish friendly contacts which they maintained later also with their correspondence. In the letter which Kappus wrote from Cucurpe on 24. June 1692 to Joannes Gregorius Thalnitscher (i.e. Dolničar) - a central figure of the Slovene cultural life in that time - (see letter V. in our sequence) we learn that Kappus had just received a letter sent to him by Philippus Alberth from Novo mesto in Slovenia on 1. April 1688. Towards the end of his life Alberth returned to Vienna where he died on 15. April 1709.

At the time when Alberth transmitted Kino's map together with Kappus' letter to the review *Nova litteraria Germaniae* he worked as librarian at St. Anna in Vienna. This was the noviciate of the Society of Jesus, one of the three major Jesuitic centres in contemporary Vienna (besides the Home of the Professed, and the College). In the organisation of the Jesuitic Order there was normally one noviciate only for a whole province, in the Austrian Province, however, there were occasionally two (the other noviciate was at Leoben). The Vienna noviciate was founded in 1628 and was located in the central part of the town, in the region of the present Austrian Academy of Sciences and Arts, south of the Cathedral of St. Stephan. In the XVII th century the Vienna noviciate normally lodged on an average 100 novices, in the XVIII th century 60 to 90. The noviciate was a time of probation which normally lasted two years, yet frequently it was reduced to one year.²²

The review *Nova litteraria Germaniae aliorumque Europae regnorum anni MDCCVII collecta* is almost unknown in German cultural history. No information about it can be found in German bibliographies. Still, copies of it are preserved in Vienna (Österreichische Nationalbibliothek) and in the University Library Leipzig. The review was a monthly edited by the publishing house Christian Liebezeit whose offices were at Hamburg, Leipzig and Frankfurt/Main. The review, which appeared in press in the years 1707-1709 brought Latin articles which popularised scholarly news in the fields of theology, medicine, geography, and history.

²⁰ Cf. in this connection also my study: Marcus Antonius Kappus: The First Slovenia-Born Poet in America, *Acta Neophilologica* XXVIII (1995), 59-68.

²¹ Cf.: France Martin Dolinar: *Der Jesuitenkolleg Laibach und die Residenz Pleterje 1597-1704*. Dissertatio ad Doctoratum in Facultate Historiae Ecclesiasticae Pontificiae Universitatis Gregorianaе, Ljubljana, 1976, cf. pp. 152, 156.

²² Bernhard Duhr, S.J.: *Geschichte der Jesuiten in den Ländern deutscher Zunge*, vols. I-IV, Freiburg in Breisgau. Herdersche Verlagsbuchhandlung 1913-1928. Cf. vol. II/1, p. 320; vol. III/2, pp. 542-544; vol. III. pp. 190-194, 270-272; vol. IV/1, pp. 348, 352, 353, 357-359.

The choice of the review *Nova litteraria Germaniae* for the publication of Kappus' letter and of Kino's map was apparently made by Philippus Alberth after a careful reconsideration: this review seems to have played a certain role in the spreading of knowledge of contemporary geographic discoveries in North America. In their introduction to Kappus' text the editors offer to their readers also a map by Father Hennepin as well as maps by other cartographers. Father Louis Hennepin (c. 1640 - after 1701), a contemporary of Kino and Kappus, has an important place in the history of the exploration of the Mississippi River.²³ Born to Fleming parents in the Province of Hainaut (Belgium), he joined the Franciscan Order. Preferring, however, the adventures to the meditative life in a monastic cell, he embarked in 1675 a French ship which brought him to Canada, at that time a French colony. In 1678 he joined La Salle at Fort Frontenac on Lake Ontario. From there he visited with a military escort the Niagara Falls of which he made the earliest known authentic description. In 1679-1680 he accompanied La Salle on his famous expedition along the Great Lakes to the southern end of Lake Michigan and from there to the Illinois River where they built Fort Crèvecoeur on the banks of Lake Peoria. From there La Salle sent Hennepin with two companions to explore the lower course of the Illinois River down to its junction with the Mississippi and from there to proceed on the Mississippi upwards and investigate its provenance. As soon as they started their journey on the Mississippi, however, they were captured by Sioux Indians. As a slave of a Sioux chief Hennepin travelled over much of the present day Minnesota until he was finally freed by the French explorer Daniel Du Lhut (after him the town of Duluth on the Lake Superior has its name). In 1682 Hennepin returned to France where he published in 1683 *Description de la Louisiane* which made him famous. About 1690 he returned to Belgium. In 1696 he published in Antwerp *Nouveau voyage* and in 1697 in Utrecht *Nouvelle découverte*. In these two books, published after the death of La Salle (he died in 1687), Hennepin maintained that before his exploration of the Upper Mississippi he had made with his two companions a journey down the Mississippi River. This, however, is now considered a pure lie with which he tried to overshadow the fame of La Salle as explorer of the river. The ultimate source for Hennepin's writing on the lower course of the Mississippi River was the journal of one of La Salle's companions. Because of this fabrication Hennepin has lost much of his fame which he justly deserves as explorer of Minnesota. Towards the end of his life Hennepin went to Rome where after 1701 he disappeared.

The maps of the Mississippi published in Hennepin's books were the best maps of this river and its region available in his time. It was due to Hennepin that the maps of America which until the end of the XVII th century show a number of indifferent waters flowing into the Gulf of Mexico or a large river coming from the north and entering the Gulf like the Rio Grande, bring soon after 1700 the distinct features of the Mississippi as the central river of this region.²⁴

23 The most easily available work on the life and exploits of Louis Hennepin is by Francis Parkman: *The Discovery of the Great West: La Salle*. First published in 1869, this work went through numerous reprints and is available in modern paperback editions. Francis Parkman (1823-1893), a Harvard scholar and a classic of American historiography, wrote a whole series of books on ancien régime in Canada, on the role of Jesuits in the history of French Canada, on the struggle of France and Great Britain for the control of the North American continent, and on the westward expansion of the United States and the colonization of the Wild West. Parkman's views are distinctly Protestant.

24 Cf. the map "Totius Americae descriptio" by Frederick de Wit from 1690 with the map "Louisiane" by Guillaume de l'Isle from 1718. Published in: Pierluigi Portinaro and Franco Knirsch: *The Cartography*

It was a noteworthy achievement of the review *Nova litteraria Germaniae aliorumque Europae regnorum anni MDCCVII collecta* that it published almost simultaneously and quite early Hennepin's map of the Mississippi river and Kino's map *Passo po tierra*, two maps which have at the beginning of the XVIII th century greatly advanced the knowledge of the geography of the North American continent.

6.

Before completing our present study it may prove useful to call attention once more to the fact that there are two Kappus letters published in conemporary German reviews, both accompanied with Kino's map *Passo por tierra*. We have published them both in the present series of Kappus studies. A few more words must be said about their maps:

1. Kappus letter to his brother dated Matape 20. June 1699 and published in 1728 in the collection *Der neue Welt-Bott* (Letter IV. in our series). This letter has been for a long time well covered by bibliographers.

2. Kappus letter to his friend Philippus Alberth, dated Matape 8. June 1701 and published in 1707 in the review *Nova litteraria Germaniae aliorumque Europae regnorum anni MDCCVII colecta* (Letter VI in our series). Its recent discoverer seems to have been Herbert Eugene Bolton (*Rim of Christendom*, 1936).

Of these two letters, the letter written in 1701 and published in 1707 (Letter VI) is of fundamental importance because it brought Kino's earliest draft of *Passo por tierra*. Bolton considers this map as its basic form (Bolton: *Rim*, pp. 464, 609-610). We reproduce it slightly reduced as the first of the two maps at the end of our present study (the original measures 17x22.5 cm).

The second letter (Letter VI of our series) was published rather late, in 1728. Its editors do not seem to have known of the earlier existence of Kino's map in Germany (1707 edition of *Nova Litteraria Germaniae*). We reproduce the map published in 1728 in *Der neue Welt-Bott* as the second map at the end of the present study, considerably reduced (original measures 22.5 x 35.3 cm). The two editions of the map *Passo por tierra* do not cover exactly the same geographic areas. This can be best seen in their southern sectors: the second - newer - map reaches down to the southern end of Baja California. Bolton believes that this second map is the map which Kino made in 1702 and sent it in February of the same year to Thirso Gonzalez, Kino's friend from his Sevilla days, and from 1687 till his death in 1702 the General of the Jesuit Order in Rome (Kino: *Rim*, pp.343, 477, 609-610). How this map reached the editors of *Der neue Welt -Bott* is not clear.

Together with the two maps we publish at the end of our present study also the photocopy of Kappus' text as it appeared in print in the review *Nova litteraria Germaniae*.

With this we have completed our studies on the preserved Kappus letters connected with Slovenia. As we have seen, they are important for the study of the first years of Kappus' life in Sonora. We plan to begin with the next issue of *Acta Neophilologica* to publish Kappus' letters preserved in Mexican archives. Fortunately they cover the latter phase of Kappus' life which is the least known. We hope therefore that they will offer new insights into the period in which Kappus lived.

THE TEXT

R.P. Philippus Alberth e Soc. Iessu, Bibliothecae ad S. Annae Praefectus, benevole nobiscum communicavit mappam Geographicam, qua Californiam, insulam hactenus creditam, terram esse continentem docemur. Quam opera P. Eusebii Francisci Kini, in America delineatam publico invidere piaculum duximus, ideoque aere expressam versa pagina exhibuimus, ad quam P. Hennepini recentissimam, aliasque aliorum exigere poterit cuicumque libuerit. Reddimus etiam simul literas, quas una cum praedicta P. Kini mappa P. Marcus Antonius Kappus, Matapa, quae in America Septentrionali Collegio Societatis Iesu celebris est, in Europam, & speciatim in Austriam transmisit, ita sonantes:

Rde in Xto Pt.

P.C.

Cum ad nonnullas meas anno superiore & anteriore in Europam datas nulae omnino compareant responsoriae; non sine fundamento aut anufragium passas, aut in manus hostium, quibus obnoxius erat Oceanus, delapsas suspicor, forte praesentes, nisi fallor, fauorabiliori nauigabunt uento, cum suo Neo-Rege gaudet Hispania. Quamvis & hanc ipsam ob causam varij varia discurrunt, & Martem per mare et terras arma moturum autumant. nihilominus, quidquid sit de armis, perbreuem hanc scribo epistolam, eamque more solito expedio, & fortunas caetera mando, non autem leuis sese nunc mihi offert scribendi occasio: mense enim februario ex Californis (.ubi indies magis augetur Christiana Religio.) aduectus R.P. Pr. Joannes Ma. de Salvatierra mecum tantisper commoratus erat, & cum de transitu difficultate per mare in California mecum conferret, atque non leuibus argumentis, quibus Californiam non Insulam sed Peninsulam esse probari uidebatur, contra modernorum Geographorum mappas adductus, suscepto 150. & amplius leucis terrestri itinere, socio R.P. Eusebio Franc° Kino, superatis ingentis momenti obstaculis, tandem mundo aperuit nouum in Californiam ingressum per terram: unde Geographiae Studiosi rursus Antiquorum vestigia secuturi in mappis, quas edituri sunt imposterum, jam non Insulam, sed Pen-Insulam, nisi errare velint, Californiam efformabunt: atque ut hujus studij cupidis, quibus abundat Austria, clarior fiat haec notitia, includo hic perbreuem mappulam, ad hunc finem mihi a R.P. Eus°. Franc°. Kino submissam. Submittam autem alia occasione extensioem Americae mappam, interea hanc duntaxat notitiam anticipo, omnibus praesertim Societatis Patribus gratam, ut credo, fore. neque longior sum, qa bonam Mexicum hanc transmittendi epistolam nactus sum occasionem in procinctu itineris constitutam. In ssa RVae. Sacrifa, et orationes me commendo. Matapae 8. Iunii 1701.

RVae. Seruus in Xto

Marcus Antus.Kappus.

Ipsius mappae exterior superficies, eaque complicata hanc prae se ferebat inscriptionem:

Reudo P. Marco Antonio Kappus.

S.I. Collegii Matapensis Re-
ctori Harum Novarum Regi-
onum, & Missionum, Fautori,
& Benefactori se enixè com-
mendat

Eusebius Franciscus Kinus. S.I.

TRANSLATION

The Reverend Father Philippus Alberth, from the Society of Jesus, the Prefect of the Library of St. Anna, has benevolently transmitted to us the geographic map from which we learn that California - so far believed to be an island - is (in reality) connected with the mainland. We have considered that it would be wrong to deny to the public this work of Father Eusebius Franciscus Kinus drawn in America. Therefore we publish it, executed in copper, on the opposite page. Whoever it would please could with it also require the most recent (map) by Father Hennepin and other (maps) by other (cartographers). At the same time we also reproduce the letter which was sent - together with the above mentioned map of Father Kinus - by Father Marcus Antonius Kappus, from Matape - famous in North America for its College of the Society of Jesus - to Europe, or more precisely to Austria. It goes as follows:

To the Reverend Priest in Christ

Pax Christi

Since to several of my (letters) from the last year and (the year) before sent to Europe absolutely no answers have been received it is not without reason my suspicion that they have either suffered shipwreck or fallen into the hands of enemies who endanger the Ocean. If I do not deceive myself, maybe that this (letter) will sail with a more favourable wind, when Spain is rejoicing at its New King, even if for this same reason various people say various things and believe that Mars will call up weapons on the sea and on the land. Nevertheless, whatever happens as regards the war, I write this very short letter and send it in the usual way, leaving everything to the good luck. An occasion, not unimportant, namely offers itself now to me to write: in the month of February came from California (where daily the Christian religion greatly increases) the Reverend Father Johannes Maria de Salvatierra and stayed with me for a while. And when discussing with me the difficulty of the passage by the sea to California and was induced by (my) not insignificant arguments that seem to prove that California is not an island but rather a peninsula to undertake - against the maps of modern geographers - together with the Reverend Father Eusebius Franciscus Kinus an overland journey of 150 and more leagues. After having overcome enormous obstacles on their way, he finally discovered for the world a new overland passage to California. Therefore the Geographers, pursuing again the traces of the old, will depict California in the maps which they will publish in the future - if they do not want to err - no longer as an island but rather as a peninsula. And in order that those devoted to these studies - in whom Austria abounds - will more clearly understand this news I here include this small map which was for this purpose presented to me by the Reverend Father Eusebius Franciscus Kinus. On another occasion I will send a more detailed map of America. In the meantime I send in advance this news only which I believe will be welcome to all, especially to the fathers of the Society. I will not (write) more, because I have caught a good opportunity for the transfer of this letter to the (City of) Mexico just ready for the journey. I recommend myself, Your Reverence, to Your Holy Sacrifices and prayers. In Matape, 8. June 1701.

Your reverence's servant in Christ

Marcus Antonius Kappus

The external surface of this same folded map had the following inscription:

To the Reverend Father Marcus Antonius Kappus,

S.I., Rector of the College of Matape

Patron and Benefactor

of these new regions and missions

recommends himself warmly

Eusebius Franciscus Kinus, S.I.

R. P. *Philippus Albertus* e Soc. Iesu, Bibliothecæ ad S. Annæ Præfectus, benevole nobiscum communicavit mappam Geographicam, qua Californiam, insulam hæctenus creditam, terram esse continentem docemur. Quam opera P. *Eusebii Francisci Kini*, in America delineatam publico invidere piaculum duximus, ideoque are expressam versâ pagina exhibuimus, ad quam P. *Hennepini* recentissimam, aliasque aliorum exigere poterit cuicumque libuerit. Reddimus etiam simul literas, quas una cum prædicta P. *Kini* mappa P. *Marcus Antonius Kappus*, Matapa, quæ in America Septentrionali Collegio Societatis Iesu celebris est, in Europam, & speciatim in Aultriam transmissit, ita sonantes :

Rde in Xto Pr.

P C

Cum ad nonnullas meas anno superiore & anteriore in Europam datas nullæ omnino compareant responsoræ; non sine fundamento aut naufragiû passas, aut in manus hostium, qb9 obnoxius erat Oceanus, delapsas suspicor. forte præsentis, nisi fallor, fauorabiliori navigabunt uento, cum suo Neo-Rege gaudet Hispania. Quamvis & hæc ipsam ob causam varij varia discurrunt, & Martem per mare et terras arma moturû autumant. nihilominus, quid quid sit de armis, perbreuem hanc scribo epistolam, eamq; more solito expedio, & fortunæ cætera mando. non autem leuis sese nunc mihi offert scribendi occasio: mense enim Februario ex California (ubi indies magis augetur Christiana Religio.) aduectus R. P. Pr. Joë Ma. de Salvatierra mecum tantisper commoratus ẽ, & cum de transitu difficultate per mare in California mecum conferret, atq; non leuib; argumentis, quibus Californiam non Insulam sed Peninsulam ee præbari uidebatur, contra modernorum Geographorum mappas adductus, suscepto 150. & amplius leucis terrestri itinere, socio R. P. Eusebio Franc. Kino, superatis ingentis momenti obstaculis, tandem mûndo aperuit nouû in Californiam ingressum per terram: unde Geographiæ Studiosi rursus Antiquorum vestigia secururi in mappis, quas edituri sunt imposterum, jam non Insulam, sed Pen-Insulam, nisi errare velint, Californiam efformabunt: atque ut hujus studij cupidis, quibus abundat Aultria, clarior fiat hæc notitia, includo hic perbreuem mappulam, ad hunc finem mihi a R. P. Euf. Franc. Kino submissam, Submittam autem alia occasione extensioem Americæ mappam, interca hæc duntaxat notitiam anticipo, omnibus præsertim Soc'is Patribus gratam, ut credo, fore, neq; longior sum, qa bonam Mexicû hanc transmittendi epistolam nactus sum occasionem in prociectu itineris constitutam. in Ssa. RVæ. Sacrificæ, et orationis me cõmendo. Matapæ 8. Iunii 1701.

RVæ. Seruus in Xto

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Eusebius Franciscus Kinus. S. I.

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TABULA CALIFORNIAE Anno 1702.

Ex autoptica observatione delineata a R. P. Chino e S.I.

